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868 himself and his dependents. Thus, during childhood, he begins to participate in the hunting, gardening, and collecting occupations of his parents.

Even as an infant a Kwoma has begun his training in working for food by learning to clamber to his mother's breast. Later, during weaning, habits of helping himself to food and eating have been developed. Now the whole cycle of planting and harvesting, hunting and fishing, collecting and processing, unfolds before him, and little by little he learns to participate in one or another segment of these activities.

• [252] A child learns that most of his food must be cooked before he can eat it and that if he wishes to eat between meals he [264] must learn this technique himself. At any time of the day [372] boys may roast a bunch of plantains or a breadfruit. Sometimes they build up the fire on the hearth of their mother or older sister, but more frequently they cook their snacks in groups of two or three in the forest. They learn to cook by watching and imitating their mother, and by trial and error. [86] Girls, in addition to this, are specifically trained. They are told by their mothers what to do and criticized if they do not do it correctly. Boys also receive some specific training if they try some of the more complicated dishes such as gruel or soup. Both girls and boys are expected to help their mother when she is cooking the main meal, standing ready to pass her a utensil or to fetch the bamboo water container. She is severe with her children for negligence in helping her, scolding them if they do not carry out her orders. Kaya, for example, severely reprimanded Mey for bringing her the old mixing sticks when she wanted the new ones.

868 850 [415]

[312] Since water and firewood are necessary for cooking, a sup- [313] ply must be kept constantly to hand. This is woman's work, [462] and consequently does not affect the boys.* A girl in the childhood age group accompanies her mother to the spring and brings back a small bamboo of water, and also forages for firewood with her mother. Older girls, though still in the childhood age group, are often given the responsibility of

* A boy will occasionally help his sister fetch water or firewood as a favor to her, but not as a duty.

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857 868 241 up the yams that have been dug, the girls in carrying the harvest home.

Kwoma parents develop their children's interest in the work of gardening by setting aside a section of garden for each of them. The section is carefully marked off with bamboo poles laid end to end on the ground, and its produce is put in a separate bin in the family storehouse as the child's private property.

857 868 Children do not participate in the process of extracting flour from the pith of the sago palm. This is a task which [252] requires the coöperation of one man and one woman, and the technique has been so worked out that a third person would be a nuisance rather than a help. Children often go with their parents and watch, but do not actually crush or wash the pith until they are big enough to do the whole job, that is, not until adolescence.

[224] [462] Hunting is restricted entirely to men. Boys begin as soon as they reach the status of childhood, chiefly killing snakes and lizards. They usually kill these animals with sticks or stones, but sometimes capture them with a noose tied to the end of a stick, an implement which they manufacture themselves. [411] Bows and arrows are known to the Kwoma, but they [223] are poorly constructed and rarely used. A boy's father usually makes him a small bow and some bird darts, and the boy then tries stalking birds. He never attempts a shot unless he can get within a few feet of the bird, and even then the poorly constructed arrow shot from a crude bow is likely to go wide of the mark. Despite the poorness of the weapons, [224] some boys become remarkably adept at stalking. Mes, an [125] adolescent who had won a name for himself as a good stalker, became my shoot boy. He had, of course, never fired a gun in his life, but I instructed him in its use and he took about a dozen practice shots at a target. On his first foray for pigeons he brought down three with only four shells.

[224] [311] It is not until adulthood that a Kwoma may become a hunter of big game. A child is taught a healthy respect for wild pigs, and is not allowed to play with a spear, the principal hunting and fighting weapon, as it is considered too

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882 262 Once a Kwoma has passed through the initiatory ceremony he learns new restrictions on eating, assumes new economic responsibilities, and acquires new work habits. Although adolescents are for the most part subject to the same restrictions as children, eating at the same times and consuming the same food, there are some special food taboos which now [826] apply for the first time. A boy may not eat fish for several months after his age-grade initiation. His blood, following the ceremonial cutting, is believed to flow down the stream into the lake and finally into the Sepik River, so that it contaminates the fish caught there. The taboo is thus supported by the Kwoma belief that to eat food contaminated by one's [764] own blood is dangerous. Another restriction is the "voluntary" abstention by adolescent boys and girls from eating [765] sago gruel for the period between the first and second funerals of a close relative. A third new limitation upon a boy's [831] eating habits is associated with his sexual behavior. It is be- [753] lieved that if a male eats food cooked by any female with whom he has had sexual intercourse, he will sicken and perhaps die.[4] Sickness is believed to result not only from eating food contaminated by one's own blood, but also from eating food contaminated by one's own sperm. When a woman cooks, any sperm which she has recently received is thought to contaminate the food. For these reasons an adolescent boy takes care not to get the harmful sperm back into his system by eating food cooked by a girl with whom he has philandered.[5]

883 • 262 602 When Kwoma youths have attained the status of an adolescent, they must assume new economic responsibilities. While they were children, their parents provided all the sago flour that was needed by the household, but now both sexes must share in the labor of collecting and preparing this staple. Since this is a task which involves the coöperation of a man and a woman, a *brother* and *sister* form a team and they produce together a supply of flour to supplement that [462] prepared by the mother and father. It is the boy's duty to

[4] This taboo also applies to adults with the exception of food cooked by a wife.

[5] The effects of this belief on the sexual behavior of the Kwoma will be discussed later.

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cut down the palm tree and remove a section of bark. The girl then crushes the pith, and the boy washes and squeezes it in a trough which he has constructed, allowing the milky juice to flow into a bark container set below the trough. A fine flour settles to the bottom of this container, and the water flows off. After a long morning's work a couple will have produced a sixty or seventy pound deposit of flour. The boy pours off the last of the water and wraps up the flour in a spathe. The girl places this bundle in her net bag and carries it up the mountain path to the dwelling on her back. The division of labor in sago making is maintained in part by the belief that, if a woman should do the man's part of the process, especially that of washing and squeezing the pith, the flour would be inedible.[6]

An adolescent girl takes the responsibility for cooking part of the family meal, presiding over a fireplace of her own instead of merely helping her mother. She prepares the vegetables for soup, boils sago flour, and roasts the meat. She and the older children share the meals which she cooks, thus relieving the mother from the task of providing for the whole family. The mother generally continues to cook for herself, her husband, and the smaller children. If there are two adolescent girls in a family, they usually share one fireplace and cooperate in the cooking. A girl must keep herself supplied with firewood and water.

At adolescence boys and girls must assume new gardening duties and become more specifically associated with the gardening group, which consists of from one to three adult *brothers* and their families.[7] They take their place in the gardening group of their father or, if the father has died, of a *maternal uncle*,[8] and begin to perform adult gardening tasks with the adult men and women of the group.

[6] Mar and Gwiyap, my houseboys, broke this taboo, a circumstance which will be discussed in chapter viii.

[7] There were six gardening groups in Rumbima hamlet, headed, respectively, by (1) Wof and Marok; (2) War, Kar, and Kis; (3) Yat and Way; (4) Waramus; (5) Afok and Fokotay; (6) Kwal and Daw. Gardening groups will be discussed in more detail in chapter vi.

[8] Gwiyap and Mar joined the gardening group of Wof and Marok. Mar, in addition, had to care for a garden which had been started by an older brother who had recently died.

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883 241 tasks with the adult men and women of the group. Adolescents do not, however, have much voice in matters of agricultural policy, such as choosing the proper site, or determining the time of planting.

883 462 241 One of the principal duties of a boy is to assist in clearing sites by climbing trees and lopping off branches; he was not allowed to do this as a child because of the physical dangers involved. He also helps in preparing the yam hills and in planting tobacco, taro, and spinach, but he may not put seed yams in the ground until he has become a member of *Nokwi*, the third section of the yam cult, which does not occur until adulthood. When the yam plants break through the ground, he works with the gardening group at the task of hanging stringers of split bamboo from the dead limbs of the trees which stud the garden and pegging these stringers beside each hill. If the garden is near the hamlet rather than in an outlying district, he helps his father build a fence around it to prevent the village pigs from ruining the crop. He works with the adults at harvest time, helping to dig out the yams and to store them.

An adolescent girl does the work of an adult woman in her [252] [476] father's garden. She performs her share of the labor of preparing food for the workers, especially when a feast must be provided for a work-bee. She helps her mother carry the seed [602] yams and the liana stringers to the garden. It is her duty to keep her section of the garden clean of weeds and to help her *sisters*, *mothers*, and *aunts* weed the sections belonging to her father, *brothers*, and *younger sisters*. The most arduous part [482] of her labor is the transportation of the harvest. She carries [487] from fifty to seventy-five pounds of yams in her net bag [340] miles over the steep, slippery paths from the garden to the hamlet, where they are stored in small houses especially built for the purpose.

883 Adolescence entails no change in the fishing habits of the [226] girls nor in the hunting habits of the boys. These activities [224] continue to be undertaken primarily for sport. A boy is not permitted to hunt pigs until he has become a man. Nowel, an adolescent, deviated from this custom and set out to spear a

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224 strangled by hand or are snared by means of a running noose
[851] tied to the end of a stick. A man sometimes constructs a small deadfall trap in the granary or dwelling to catch stray rats, but more frequently he sets a hunting dog on these pests.

224 If a man does not use a bow and dart or spear to kill small
262 animals, the belief about his blood does not strictly apply.
[826] He may eat them without harm. Many Kwoma, however, do not take the chance of eating something which has been killed even in this way, and give the meat to some other member of their family.

224 Opossums and birds of paradise are exceptions to the
703 lack of interest in small game. A man may expend consider-
237 able effort hunting these, not because of their food value, but
223 because they yield homicidal insignia. A man who has taken the head of an enemy is permitted to wear a band of opossum fur on his forehead and bird of paradise plumes in his comb. Hence a man who already has the privilege of wearing such insignia eagerly seeks them, and one who does not yet have the privilege seeks them to use in the future or to give to a *brother* or *uncle*.

252 Processing sago is a continual chore for Kwoma adults of
593 both sexes. The technique which they master during adoles-
885 cence has been described in the preceding chapter. The only change which occurs at adulthood is that the work group is composed of a man and his wife rather than of a brother and
[439] his sister. The habits of processing sago are maintained by
[476] the family's need for an everyday supply of sago flour, for a
[796] surplus to be traded with the river people for fish, and for contributions to necessary work bees and ceremonial feasts.

226 An adult woman continues to fish as she did during her
462 adolescence and childhood. Since marriage is patrilocal, she
[591] fishes in a new locale with the women of her husband's hamlet.
[433] The main fish supply comes from trade; consequently fishing
[467] is only a supplementary occupation in an economic sense and is engaged in primarily for recreation.

222 A woman supplements the larder with edible produce from
462 the forest. She collects the leaves of certain wild trees for use as greens; she searches in the dead butts of sago palms for

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the grubs, which are considered a delicacy roasted; and she picks up the windfalls from edible varieties of wild fruit trees. These are subsidiary economic tasks for the woman, but, if she neglects them, her husband will criticize her. Her own wish for these additions to her diet also provides a motive for this work.

A woman continues during adulthood to perform many of the tasks that she learned during childhood and adolescence. She is responsible for keeping the household supplied with firewood and water until she has daughters old enough to take over this work. It is her duty to build the fire in her hearth, to plan and prepare the midday meal, and to keep on hand a supply of sago briquettes. Her husband sees to it that she performs these wifely duties, criticizing and even beating her if she is unduly lazy or negligent.

The men and women of a family share the responsibility of caring for the domesticated animals. It is the man who captures wild pigs whenever he spears a sow with a litter. After he brings them home, he tethers them to stakes near the house, where his wife and children feed them sago pulp mash until they are habituated to the dwelling: then he allows them to go free and forage for themselves. The wife has the responsibility of feeding them whenever they return to the dwelling or calling them to be fed if they stay away for more than a day. Special care is taken of a pregnant sow. Husband and wife coöperate in watching her so that they can catch and tame the offspring before they run wild. The man castrates all male pigs because it is believed that boars cannot be domesticated. The litters born to domesticated sows are therefore sired by wild boars. A domesticated pig is speared and butchered and its flesh used in the same manner as wild pigs, and the same taboo against eating its flesh applies to the man who kills it.

One or more dogs are attached to every Kwoma family. Each dog is individually owned, and is fed and cared for by his master or mistress. Some dogs are trained for hunting. To do this a man must teach the dog to follow pig tracks in the forest but not in the hamlet, for if a man's dog chases and

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869 826 206 [157] [856] [262] 869 262 562 252 121 869 823 123

Becoming a Kwoma

Kwoma children are warned that if they do not allow someone to bleed them when they have a headache, stomach-ache, or sprain, the pain will become worse and they may even become seriously ill. A boy is also warned that if he does not bleed his penis he will not grow up.[1] When the age-grade initiation approaches, a boy is warned that if he does not attend it and have his blood ceremonially let, he will not grow up. Since this operation is performed in a stream, he is warned that if he eats fish he will become sick, for the fish may have been contaminated by his blood. He is warned that if he eats an animal which he has killed with a spear or arrow he will sicken and perhaps die, since his blood enters the animal through his weapon and contaminates its flesh. This warning is reiterated to adults when they begin pig hunting. An adult who plants yams is warned not to eat them lest he become sick, for the seed and produce have become contaminated with his blood.

One other unrealistic warning should be mentioned here, because a case involving it will be discussed later. Adolescents are warned that if they eat sago flour washed by a woman it will make them sick. The normal procedure in processing sago flour is for the woman, either sister or wife, to crush the pith and for the man to rinse the flour from it.

The following case will serve to illustrate the psychological effect that the above unrealistic warnings usually have upon a Kwoma pupil. Kar, Mar, Gwiyap, and I were walking through the swamp one day, and the path passed by a waterhole. Kar warned the rest of us not to pass too near it for it was the dwelling place of a *marsalai*. Mar and Gwiyap heeded and passed by the waterhole at a distance. I, however, did not heed, approached the hole, and poked my walking stick into it. The three Kwoma shouted at me for doing this, warning me to stop and scolding me for my temerity. The fact that Mar and Gwiyap passed by the waterhole at a distance can be analyzed thus: the drive was fear evoked by Kar's warning due to the pain which both Mar and Gwiyap

[1] This warning is not made directly but by implication, and the practice is performed in secret. See chap. iv, p. 64.

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121 pupil does not heed an unrealistic warning he will be injured
869 just as surely as, and perhaps even more severely than, if he
178 ignored a realistic warning. Why they wish to prevent the child from being injured is a complex problem, involving identification, loss of help and support, and sanctions against negligence. The important question is why, if parents make their children heed unrealistic warnings in order to prevent them from being injured, does this habit not extinguish when they observe a child experience no harmful consequences when he disregards a supernatural danger? The following case of the extinction of a supernatural belief indicates that this is a real as well as a logical possibility.

121 Mar and Gwiyap had both been warned not to eat sago
869 flour washed by a female lest it make them sick. Before they
178 started to work as our houseboys they had heeded this warn-
252 ing and each had worked with one of his *sisters* in the process
262 of extracting sago flour. They had washed the pith while the *sister* crushed it. When they began to work for us, however, we demanded their services in the mornings, when they would otherwise have gone to the swamp to replenish the household flour supply. Awa and Kwiya, the *sisters* who had hitherto worked with them, had no other available *brothers*, and therefore formed a team of their own. They took turns washing and crushing and, of course, produced flour washed by a female. Mar and Gwiyap were somewhat hesitant about trying this flour, but they were faced with the dilemma of either going without flour, which had been a staple in their diet since weaning, or ceasing to work for us, which would have meant losing frequent gifts of trade goods as well as some prestige. They chose to risk disregarding the warnings about the food and hoped that the flour would not be like other bad food they had eaten and which had made them sick. Their parents scolded them for this behavior and warned them again. Since no other painful consequences resulted from their first attempt, they decided to try it again, and, for the remaining six months of our stay, they and the rest of their household ate this supposedly harmful food. After the first few occasions their parents stopped scolding and warning them.

October 20, 1936.

114 Yesterday after breakfast Mar took us to the place where he and his father were planting yams. We had made the arrangements the day before; Mar had said that it was not very far away, and so, despite the rain, we decided to go. [134] [133] What a trip! The soil here is largely made up of a sort of greasy mica which is the next thing to ice in slipperyness when it gets wet. Further, almost the entire journey was either up or down slopes varying from thirty to sixty degrees. Occasionally the tree roots provided some foothold, or in the steepest places little niches had been cut into the mud. Most of the time we were 'skating'. At least a dozen times my feet suddenly went out from under me and I fell. Tip was wearing leather boots and therefore did not fare so badly [48] as I with my tennis shoes. Mar, barefoot, padded along with a knee bending, heel and toe gait which allowed most of the surface of his splay feet to be on the ground at one time. He never seemed to slip. After about two and a half hours, we finally arrived at the 'bush house', soaked by rain and mud from without, and sweat from within.

126 123 262 252 [415] [323] [439] While we were taking notes on the material culture we found there, Mar, and Marok, who was already there when we arrived, cooked some yams for us. They were boiled in a round bottomed pot made without kick. (These pots are made by the coiling method and traded with the River people for shells.) They also cooked a bird of paradise which Tip had shot on the way with the twenty-two. It was placed on the fire, feathers and all. By the time it was done the feathers had all burned off. The meat was then torn off and eaten. It [263] [317] tasted excellent; the yams with some salt on them were good too. This salt was some that we had given them, but they say that they have a salt mine in the mountains somewhere.

123 After our meal, Sof took us to his house. We stopped to smoke a cigarette and then expected to see some yam planting, but the natives said that unless

123
593
595 had stolen some of Wof's tobacco that morning and he had scolded him for this). "Stop wandering about the house, you little thief". Ham said nothing but soon announced that he was going and asked me if I was coming too.

123 I left and went down to War's house. He was asleep in the porch on
[513] a sago slab with a head rest when I got there. His wife was sitting by
[252] the fire frying sago fritters. War got up slowly and greeted me, putting his arm lightly across my shoulders. Then he brushed off the slab seat (also a couch) for me, and we sat down on it. His wife greeted me warmly. I asked about Kis and Kar; they were both still in the bush. A little later Kis's no. 2 wife came in. She is a well-built woman of about 19.
[482] She was carrying a heavily laden net bag with coconuts, sugar cane, native spinach and large leaves used to wrap boiled sago. She sat down on a box
[521] across the room from us and talked with War and his wife. The talk was of daily happenings. I could not understand it very well, but there was
[522] an air of pleasantry and light laughter. Once she said something that struck them all as amusing, and she thrust her hands down over her genitals and rocked back and forth in glee. All the time they were talking, War sat with his back to the woman looking out of the house. He never looked at her directly. She would look at me furtively every once in a while, and if I caught her glance, she would giggle and look away quickly. Ham and
[524] Kwos had brought a ball with them. Once it rolled to where Sungay was now sitting by the other fire frying sago fritters. I put my hand out for her
[152] to throw it back. She became very embarrassed, laughed foolishly, looked away, threw it, and then covered her face with her hands , her breasts
[522] with her elbows and drew her legs up. War and his wife laughed heartily at her embarrassment.

648 that he was not a big man but a "monki nothing", and he couldn't look out
464 for the place. Kar had said, "All right, Maski, you think me no big fela man," (All right, never mind, you think I'm not a big man) and the next day had delivered an ultimatum that no one was to go with Bob. Just before Bob left, he had confronted Bob and asked him if he still thought him "something nothing", and Bob had answered somewhat ironically--"No, you're a big mari" (woman). Kar has spoken of this episode three times now, and it evidently rankled strongly.

123 Kar said that War had told him that I had come to visit him yesterday
524 and had said that if I were "black skin" he would have given me a lot more food, but being a white man, he didn't know whether I would like it or not, and had been afraid to offer it to me. He had been a bit worried whether I had thought him ungenerous and had asked Kar his opinion of the matter.

123 February 5, 1937. I went down to Way's in the afternoon. He had a pain in the testicles and sent word that he would like some medicine. He was sitting on the porch and explained about his pain. His wife, who was standing holding her child (4months) also explained about his pain, pointing to his testicles while he was holding them up for inspection.
[334] There was no embarrassment on the part of either. I gave him an empirin
[372] tablet. They were burning a palm frond bundle and also a heap of coconuts. The house was full of smoke.

[286] Then I went to War's house. His wife was sitting on one porch making
[361] a net bag with her daughter. War was on the other porch. The houses
[252] almost touch and are directly facing each other. War was boiling sago, and he gave Mar some food. A storm came up, so all of them moved into the next porch. War stood near the edge scowling, spitting, and mumbling. May also spit and mumbled.

123 This morning just as it was beginning to get light before dawn, Han came and roused me saying that Kar was waiting for me to go to his garden (we had planned the trip the day before). I had breakfast and went. Kar was on War's porch. Everyone was ready. Kar and I went out, as War and the 123 wives would follow when the house was straightened up. We arrived at the 241 garden about two hours' later skirting the south edge of the mountain. It was a muddy walk. The large garden was on the side hill. Half hour later War, two wives, and three children, Sunga (Kis' wife), Kar's wife, Haya and Toka arrived. Kar and War first wandered around the garden pulling up a weed here and fastening up a yam runner there (very similar to the way an American farmer acts). Then they set to work fastening runners to tree limbs. They started at the top of the field and worked down to the bottom. Then pegged the loose ends on the way up and then worked on another section. The two older women wandered around pulling up a few weeds here and there and then sat down. Sunga and Kar's wife went over the whole garden pulling up grass. They finished before Kar and War and then sat [857] down. The female kids didn't do much of anything except play about. Kis [252] and Hay went to get coconuts, bananas and dry yams for us--they gathered [264] firewood, made the fire, and cooked the yams and bananas. The women ate [262] boiled sago off and on as they worked. Kar and War worked steadily until 1:00, then they ate native spinach and sago. Their food had been prepared previously, so they didn't use the fire. The women had already eaten and [161] now went to the bush house. As soon as Kar had eaten, had a smoke, and chewed a betel nut, he went with us and War, and then he set to work again. He has a couple more days' work and then will come back. Suw, his mother, 356 and Sunga stayed; the rest came back with us. When we reached War's house, it was swept clean; everything was put away and the door shut and fastened

578 [123] been upset because War still thinks he is guilty. Kar says that he is fed up with the place here and will go with/when I go. He says he does not feel like working.

527 262 [754] [692] [252] [415] [252] [123] [123] Last night gongs announced a Yenama pig-eating feast (or that is what they said). I went this morning. It developed that it was a court to discover who was sorcerizing Sowinambi's wife. When we arrived Mas and Sof were boiling the pig which Sowinambi had shot. Yesterday afternoon they had eaten the brains, kidneys, heart, liver, and belly. Now they had cut the rest in big chunks, without removing the skin and hair, and were boiling it in two large pots. The pots were not large enough to hold it all, so the chunks were put in and taken out with bamboo tongs. When the meat was done, bananas, spinach, and yams were put in the soup and boiled. The bananas were greasy, and the outer skin was peeled off with the finger nail. I suggested a knife, but Sowinambi explained that the soup was for the big men and must be done this way. Sowinambi said that he and Sof had to do all the work because they had no boys to help them. I helped. Some of the others made remarks -- it was not quite right for me to be doing it, but others said never mind; it was all right. The spinach was torn up by hand and put in. The yams were peeled and cut in parts.

695 754 The men kept coming three or four at a time until there were about fifty there. There were greetings and general talk until finally it seemed that all who were coming had arrived, and Ngoyamas (a big man of Afokalisa) got up and began talking in a loud voice. "Sowinambi's wife had been poisoned. Who has done it? I am Sowinambi's (kinship term) and I will fight anyone who is doing it." He stood up and stamped his foot on the ground and held his hand over his head as if holding a spear. In the days before the white man (probably now if I hadn't been there) they actually held a spear.

574 476 [501] April 4, 1937. Hamb called for help to pull his canoe to water, and fourteen men responded from Wanyambankura and Hayamalwa. They came about [252] 11:00. Hamb's wife made a soup of yams and bananas thickened with sago. Awa and Hviya boiled sago, and Nar had his family make soup. This was not expected by Hamb, but it was a gesture of friendship and graciousness. The feast was being held at Hayamalwa, and he wanted to help. I [186] think he likes to think himself generous and to increase his prestige. The [262] first course was soup. Nar had 2 pints, but they all consumed a sizeable amount. Then there was about a ten minute pause. Some got up and walked around; others sat and talked, chewed betel, and smoked. The second course of boiled sago and meat followed. Hamb had killed a gouria pigeon [123] and brought a goodly amount of smoked fish from Tambon. I contributed a [262] tin of dry peaches which Gviyap stewed. The older ones, particularly Afalowanj, were loath even to try it. They had to be told that it was like ripe bananas before they would taste it. Even then, they spit it [197] out immediately. Only those who had worked in the gold fields and for the [262] whites ate them with relish. There is no really sweet food in Kwoma culture, and sweets are not liked--sugar, chocolate, etc., are disliked. [521] After this, everyone sat around and smoked, talked, chewed betel, dozed, [276] and drifted away one by one or two by two as night approached. There was [522] a good deal of kidding around the point of calling each other their wives and some chasing around, especially Cimpangay and Marsh, Nar and Nay. A standard joke is to call another person one's wife and make remarks about "her" genitals.

241 April 5, 1937. Nar, Fit, Chiawa, Hviya, Pamba, Yawa, and Dav went to the garden. They left about dawn. Nar and Fit hung up vines; the women pulled up grass. They came back about 4:00.

583 bush house and spend the day. He would come back after dark and report to
123 me. He kept reiterating that I was his "papa true" and must look out for
583 him if War made trouble. That I should tell Mas that it was "like bilong
mari." He wanted to know if I would give him a something toward bride
price, and I said I would give some oyster shell. He seemed pleased
and said he didn't know but he would take his sisters along with him for
fear Mas would back it with one of them. He told me to help protect his
mother if War attempted to spear her. Later he said naaki (nevermind).
When I pressed him, he said this would not happen. He kept reiterating all
this, particularly that he was not going for long, only for one day, and
then he would come back to work and that he would come up by my bed and
tell me when he arrived. This last bit he said over and over. He also
said that Yatamiŋ, Kar, Kis, Wof at al. were his fathers. He had talked
to them and they said they would stand up for him. He said that War was
likely to get a spear and shield and come up to the house tamberan with it
(evidently a ceremonial fight). I was to stand by, and if he fought, help
him. All the time he was telling this, he was very excited.

831 Owiyap just came in without his ?lap lap." I remarked about it, and
826 he said that he had a big penis, which was no good. He said that here the
woman did not like it because it would hurt too much -- it would be like a
[522] dog, and they would have to go down to the water to get apart. He laughed
and thought it was a good joke. I asked him if he had had intercourse with
935 Una, and he said no. Then I asked him if he had had intercourse with Afi
and again he said no since she was his real sister, and he would be very
much ashamed.

252 April 18, 1937. Way suggested the elopement be postponed. Masuk was going
[583] to Korisai with the pig, and Mar should wait until he came back. Mey came

252 up just after dawn to say they were cutting up the pig. Way, Marok, and Kar were doing the work -- Wof was looking on. Before the work was finished, War, Afok, Fokatay, and Yafalăs came up. They sat around Wof's house and smoked, talked and chewed betel for ten minutes or so and then drifted off. They all sat facing away from the house, the women at the back..

501 Mas had planned to work on his canoe and came up carrying an ax. War told him to wait until he came back from Koriasi, and he would help. It wasn't worth it to ruin the canoe, as Mas and Mar were not good enough workmen. The others agreed, and Mas has given up the work.

191 [522] The house boys are teaching Afok pidgin. He treats it as a joke, and everyone is amused.

752 123 Enos came to the house and said that his father had told him not to come, but that if I wanted to put salve on his sore, I should come down there. His right eye looks pretty bad; it is secreting pus. His right cheek is cracking like roast pork. His left eye is all right, though the eyelid is still somewhat swollen.

838 123 439 576 Mas and Owiyap were playing the homosexual game, calling each other friends -- without the usual hilarity but rather unusually. Cimpangay came bringing firewood for us -- and asked for beads. Wan tok (one who speaks my language)was his greeting for Owiyap.

436 437 Marok and his wife, Uka, Chinuwa, Yawaf, Difa, Mboran, Dar, War, and Wof went, carrying pig and two net bags of yams contributed by Marok. Owiyap and Mar contributed a "lap lap" each. They will receive a lot of shell money in return. May would have contributed something, but he is a "nonki nothing".

593 Since Ngusaruka's brother was killed by the police boys, she will not come to Rumbim because there is no one to look out for her, and she may be raped or sorcerised. Otherwise she would come with money, and soup

Division of Labor

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Women catch fish, make net bags, gather firewood, fetch and carry water.(The latter two occupations are taboo to men, i.e., they are unmanly.) Men make spears and arrows, and wash sago pith.(If a woman washes it and it is then eaten by a man, he will die). Both men and women hunt with bow and arrow and spear, besides doing garden work. In addition women do the cooking.

Butchering a Pig

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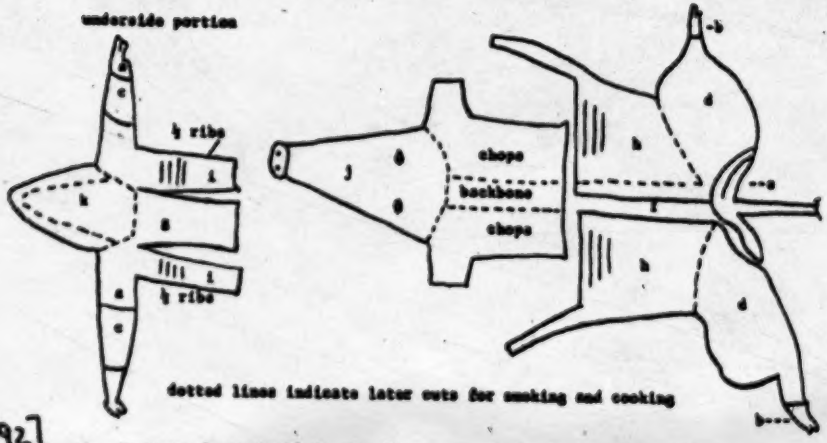
[412]

All the cutting is done with bamboo knives which are very efficient. About a half dozen knives, each eight inches long and one inch wide were prepared. The bones are broken with an ax. The hair or skin is not removed. The figure below illustrates the cuts of a butchered pig, how it is cut and labels the definitions which follow.



[192]

a. trotters-front (taf(nbevukarf)
b. trotters-hind (yatf nienbdrf)
c. 2nd joint of forelegs (tokfhaf)
d. 2nd joint of backlegs (kwafhaf)
e. tail and tenderloin (kiavf afkf)
f. backbone (nenafrf)
g. breast (kuku tokviavf)
h. rear flanks (kokuaaif)
i. fore ribs (nevi)
j. upper jaw and brain case (nasfkf)
k. lower jaw (kwafump)

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Cuts of a Butchered Pig

takimpi	breast, lower jaw, outer end of ribs, and fore legs to shoulder
masɨkɨ	upper jaw, head, shoulders, front half of back bone, chops
kwajimpi	back half of animal, cut in two along right side of backbone
yikufɨ	womb containing foetus
wofu	liver
masɨkɨ	heart
kumbo	stomach
sungu	intestines, large and small
herumpɨ	lungs
kwaya	gaul
mbinj	shoulder blade
nayfwant	neck bone
kinyɨ	tail and tenderloin
hofu	long muscle below backbone
wadj	ribs in kwajimpi portion
kɨndkɨ	lower portion of hind leg
kwajɨmpɨ	second joint of back leg

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Butchering procedure

1. All legs cut through at second joint, skin remaining
2. Ribs chopped on either side of breast bone
3. Breast bone cut around sides and belly and flapped forward over head
4. Belly slit to anus
5. Vitals removed and put in palm spathe; gaul is cut out and thrown away
6. Ribs chopped in three equal sections on either side of back bone-- two breaks on each side

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7. Long muscle on either side of backbone is cut away from front and is left attached at the tail side.

8. Lower jaw chopped from upper on either side.

9. Shoulder joint cut through-- skin on lower half remaining.

10. Cut made in from second rib from back to the break in ribs nearest backbone and along this break out to mouth, thus removing breast bone, part of ribs, lower jaw, and first two joints of forelegs.

11. Backbone chopped and cut through at second rib from back and head, upper jaw, shoulder, and half of back removed.

12. Ribs are chopped close on either side of backbone.

13. Tail and tenderloin cut out and two hind legs separated along back bone-- back bone and tail remaining on left side.

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Division of parts to relatives

kwajump	mother's brother
takɸafí	father's sister
takimpi & puku takwiyí	sister
masíyí, amoa	father's brothers
yatí naɸukíyí	brothers
manɸíyí	wife and children
hokusaif	wife and children
mayí	wife and children
entrails	wife and children

251
[252] Pig flesh is preserved by boiling it first with yams, bananas and spinach. The broth is eaten and the pieces of meat removed from the cooking pan and smoked. A platform of green boughs is made, the height varying from two to four feet depending on the amount of flesh to be smoked. A fire is made under the platform and keep burning continually for three or four days. The flesh is then put in <u>mauriyard</u>, a bamboo cage, where it hung over the ordinary cooking fire so that its smoke reaches the flesh as much as possible.

Other vegetables

244 [A2] Mbiraka, native spinach, is planted in between the yam hills. The seeds are simply broadcast on top of the ground. This is done just after the yams are planted. When the yams are ready to be taken out, all the spinach which has not already been gathered and eaten is pulled up, wrapped in a palm spathe, and stored in the house . The seed pods on these are now ripe. They dry in the house. When a new garden is planted, the dried stalks are taken to the field and shaken over the ground, and those seeds which have shelled into the palm spathe are broadcast by hand. The rain washes the seeds into the ground.

[A2] Wara, is a variety of pumpkin which was(recently) introduced; it is planted by broadcasting the seeds on top of the ground. Mayan , a watermelon, is similarly planted.

245 A2 252 [462] Bananas are planted by either men or women; the suckers are transplanted. There are several varieties grown: mbviya, eaten raw or cooked; mayamwa, eaten raw or cooked; fayambiyaf, eaten cooked only; wasifi, eaten raw or cooked; sfojowa, eaten cooked only; yavofa, eaten raw or cooked; nasafaya, eaten raw or cooked.

249 [245] Betel nut, kwaga, and coconut are planted by either men or women. Betel pepper , kwasa , is planted by both men and women near the house. Buds of the vine are clipped and inserted in the ground. The hole is made by a digging stick or dibble.

Cooking and Food Preparation

264 Menus

252 Informant: Oriyup:

115 10 o'clock-- 1 boiled sago

192 1 o'clock-- 2 boiled sago

262 1 cup koup (kow fowd)

Informant: Oriyup

dawn-- 1 ripe banana

7:30 a.m.-- one-third breadfruit

1 boiled sago

noon-- 3 ripe bananas

3:00 p.m. 2 boiled sago

Informant: Hay

dawn-- 1 boiled sago

3:00 p.m.-- 3 dishes soup (lofu, shel)

Informant: Awa

niiingd (breakfast)--1 - 3 boiled sago

yantfkd (lunch)-- 1 - 3 boiled sago

1 - 3 dishes soup (served in half coconut shell)

meat (fish, snake, lizard, pig or bird)

bongwd (dinner)-- 1 boiled sago

252 Informant: Mey

264 7:00 a.m.-- 1 boiled sago

115 10:00 a.m.-- one-third breadfruit

262 noon-- a little pigeon meat

2:00 p.m.-- 2 boiled sago

1 cup yam soup

5:00 p.m.- 2 boiled sago

6:00 p.m.-- a bit of gouria pigeon.

Informant: Her

7:00 a.m.-- 2 boiled sago

2:00 p.m.-- 2 boiled sago

3 cups soup (meat)

night-- 6 boiled sago

262
192 Soups and other foods

fayoku ndonku (pork soup) - fovɨ (pork), mbonvɨ (taro), lofu (banana), mɨngise (leaf greens), kow (yams), uku (water), mbirɸkɨ (spinach) .

fayoku ndonku-sɸwɨ (pork and coconut soup) -kow (yams), fovɨ (pig meat), lofu (banana) mbirɸkɨ (spinach), mɨngisɨ (leaf greens), sɸwɨ (coconut).

vuaivɨ wɸoa huvutu (thick vegetable soup) -hinvɨ (a kind of vegetable), mbirɸkɨ (spinach), wɸngisɨ (leaf greens), ovɨ (sago grubs), kwinyɨ (pork).

afoswɸvɨ ndonku (cassowary soup) -mbirɸkɨ (spinach), sɸwɨ (coconut), wɸngisɨ (leaf greens), mbonvɨ (taro), lofu (banana).

● [252] afoudowsu and all smaller birds are roasted, not made into soup.

[263] Fish that is bought from Tambon at the market is already smoked and is
[439] merely salted and eaten with sago.

Sago-- preparation for cooking

245 [462] The trunk of a sago palm is cut shoulder high. The wedge is taken out in the direction toward which it is wished the tree to fall. Both men and women cut the trees.

The felled log is then cut into sections, and the outer surface (xylem) is peeled back. A section ten feet long is enough to provide a day's work and about a three day's supply of sago.

252 [462] A woman sits on the peeled bark and chops the log between her feet with a special adze-like tool with a blunt hardwood colt in such a way that a half inch section of pith is scraped off and crushed with each blow. This crushed pith is then piled onto the upper end of the washing trough (see figure [462] below). The man helping pulls the pith down the trough until it is filled except for a space about two feet long from the strainer. Three or four dippers of water are then poured into the trough above the pith.

The pith is pulled up the trough, a double handful at a time, allowing the water to run down the trough and to be absorbed by the pith. If the water were first added at the bottom, near the strainer, it would run through without being absorbed into the pith.

The water-saturated pith is then pulled down by the handful and squeezed like a sponge. The handful of dry pith is then put back at the top of the trough, a new handful squeezed, put at the top, etc., until all has been squeezed. The strainer is then shaken back and forth and rubbed with the hand to force the water and sediment through it. The remaining pith is drawn back. Water is added again to the remaining pith, the squeezing repeated, the pith strained, and any remaining pith thrown out onto the ground.

The water and sediment run into the decanter which is placed so that the farther end is slightly lower than the nearer end. When the water begins to run over, a new [illegible] is put into the trough about one third

252 of the distance from the strainer to keep the new unprecipitated liquid from running over and to prevent the bottom part from being stirred up. The sago has precipitated, excess water that has not yet gone through the strainer might be scooped from the top leaving the mass of sago slightly drier. The mass of sago is wrapped in leaves and carried home.

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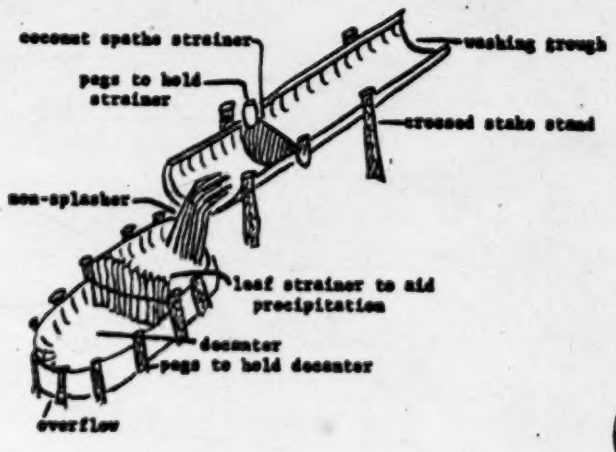
Sago Washing Trough



coconut shell dipper

Preparation of Boiled Sago

252 [192] To make boiled sago, water is heated in a pot over the fire with a half dozen seasoning leaves (yiffabfid) simmering in it (if the boiled sago is to be particularly tasty). A large lump of sago is then put in the bottom of another pot supported on the ground by a hoop of thin wood (the pots are round-bottomed). When the water boils, the leaves are skimmed off and put aside. The water is dipped into the other pot with a coconut shell dipper until the pot containing the sago is filled. It is stirred with the two "chop sticks" held in one hand. (See figures below). The water unites immediately with the sago and makes a thick gruel which becomes rubbery when it cools. This is stirred and tested until it has cooled sufficiently to congeal. The sticks are then held in each hand and rotated around each other and pulled out, dipped, rotated, and pulled out, about

ladle (nagwisfud)

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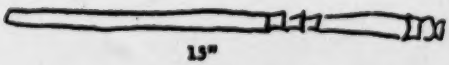
chop sticks (wuffiwf)



252 three or four times, until quite a large mass of the gruel has collected around and between the sticks. The sticks are then rotated above the pot until the excess has dripped off. The sago is then quickly transferred to a leaf (ubasumbaga, a roughtdull green leaf about one foot square) and the sticks are pulled apart lengthwise, leaving a sausage-like globule about two inches thick and six inches long deposited on leaf. The process is reposted until about a dozen such sausages have been made. If the gruel gets too cold a little more dry sago and more hot water is added. When the bowl is empty, the leaves are folded lengthwise first and then the ends are folded back-- like a package at the store. These "packages" are piled, bottom side up, so that they will remain folded. Both men and women do this work, men standing up and women sitting down. When the water is hot, child will usually make their own boiled sago, too.

[462] [516] [857]

[192] Fried Sago Fritters (nzivi)

Sago is also fried in the following manner. A washed sago lump is [364] put on a shallow clay pot supported by three large rocks over the fire. These rocks stay put and the fire is made between them. The stones are also used to hold the deep pots used in the making of soup. The lump of sago is pushed down and left over the fire for three or four minutes. Then it is pried loose with a little wooden spatula and taken off. It is transferred to a palm spathe which has been made ready for it. The bottom of the lump has been cooked to a stiff cake and is peeled off and put onto another palm spathe. The remaining lump has now been dried so that it is crumbly. A handful of it is now broken off and pressed around the hot pot with thumb and forefinger in a layer about 1/4 inch thick. This is left for a minute or two and then is peeled off with the spatula. It is now about the consistency

262 of a pancake. Next it is placed on the palm spathe, on top of the first cake, cooked side down, and another handful is put on the pot, the palm spathe, etc. until the lump is finished. Then the process of frying the other side is begun. Water in a coconut shell or pot is sprinkled over the top of the last cake until it is damp. Then it is put back on the fire the damp side down, and the next cake is sprinkled while the first one cooks. Each cake is cooked about a minute then stacked on a leaf. When they all are cooked, the pile of cakes is wrapped in the leaf and put away until time for eating, or eaten immediately.

[415] [192] A piece of betel spathe (*tase nambwa*) is used to scrape the stirrer (*nanwai*), the chop sticks (*wanifi*), and the pan in order to clean them.

Preparation and cooking of yams

• 252 Yams are prepared for boiling by cutting off the skins with a cane knife. The yams are cut into chunks, the size of medium potatoes, and placed in a clay pot (about three quart size) to which water is added. They are boiled until they are soft, removed from the pot with yam sticks and [263] [192] placed on freshly picked banana leaves. A small amount of salt (wiŋ) is put on the leaf as well.

Salt (wiŋ)

263 192 [437] Salt is made by burning dried sago bark (punhŋ). The ashes are eaten. (It tastes like medicated salt.). Soap (pidgin) is trade salt, much preferred to the homemade variety.